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development has not slackened in the least. The slightest resistance to it has been ruthlessly punished with imprisonment and exile, notably in the case of the Doukhoborts. Japan has gone forward in her naval extension, by leaps and bounds, until she has quite frightened the other naval powers.

The game of greed and grab has gone steadily on. Spurred on by England's chronic example, Germany has lately taken to bullying weaker powers and her ministry have boldly announced that she proposes to grab her share along with the others. Poor, helpless China has been the object of attack, and the cloud of disturbance has suddenly appeared along the whole Chinese coast. What this new complication will result in, the gradual partition of China, war between the great fleets, or only a spell of growling and snarling, and a lot of diplomatic finessing, it is too early to say.

Looking alone to these disturbances of the year, the prospect for the early coming of the era of goodwill and peace is not in the least flattering. But there is another side. The forces which are working out the brotherhood of man have never been so intelligently and persistently and widely active and influential as within the last twelve months. The Church, under whatever name, throughout the whole civilized world and in heathen lands, has enlarged its testimony against the wickedness and the unreason of war. The organized peace movement has continued to grow and strengthen itself, in the number of its associations, in the power and usefulness of its congresses, in the number, character and influence of the men and women who have come into its ranks. The press,—whole sections of it permanently,—has been with the movement as never before. It has set itself, in Anglo-Saxon countries particularly, against jingoism, against aggressiveness and injustice towards native races, against greed of territory, and against the stirring up and intensifying of international animosities. It has laid a heavy hand of restraint upon the forces of hatred and disunity. It will do better still, but it has already done much. Commercial interests have continued during the year the declared foe of war. In the educational field, increased attention has been given to the right teaching of history. Arbitration, as a method of settling differences, has continued to grow in favor, a number of by no means insignificant cases having been thus disposed of during '97. The loss of the

Anglo-American treaty, which was on the point of uniting for the first time two great nations in the bonds of a holy, disinterested friendship, was a heavy blow. But it resulted in making the cause much more vigorous and healthy and intelligent than it was before. The two nations, which are one in so many ways, are nearer one by *intelligent choice* and hearty sympathy now than when the treaty was signed a year ago. The interest in permanent arbitration has also grown steadily and found ways of expressing itself in other countries.

If we should attempt to express briefly the gain which the peace cause has made within the year 1897, we should say that it consisted, not so much in the number of new adherents, as in a more intelligent grasp of principles, and in the growing consciousness in civilized society that these principles must prevail if social progress is to go on. We feel perfectly sure, therefore, of the future; and in this hope, supported by the profound conviction that the cause is founded in truth and righteousness and that all the larger hopes of humanity,—nations and individuals,—are dependent upon its triumph, we are ready and glad to continue to promote it by every means at command.

### The President's Message.

"Peace and goodwill with all the nations of the earth continue unbroken." That was the note with which President McKinley began his recent message to Congress. It is not often that this sentence in a presidential message has meant as much as it means this time. Our peace with the other nations, for some time past, has not been a mere matter of course. There have been a number of points in our foreign relations where a little unwisdom or rashness might have plunged us at once into open hostilities. Within two years our relations with Great Britain, Turkey and Spain have been at times such as, under slightly modified conditions, would almost certainly have led to war. At not all of these points has the danger yet ceased. Our peace with the nations of the earth has been maintained and continues unbroken because we have had two Administrations which "sought peace and ensued it." A considerable number of our own people would have hurried us long ago into war. Some are still clamoring for it. But against these mischief-makers at home two presidents have defended us.

The result is that our goodwill, the goodwill of the nation at large towards other peoples, as manifested through the conduct of the national leaders, has kept us "on a peace footing." The President thinks we ought to be thankful to "a beneficent Providence" for this felicitous condition. So we ought. But we ought also to be grateful to good, sensible presidents. For under a reckless president it is not likely that even "a beneficent Providence" would have kept us out of the iniquity of war.

"A matter of genuine satisfaction is the growing feeling of fraternal regard and unification of all sections of our country, the incompleteness of which has too long delayed realization of the highest blessings of the Union."

After these introductory thoughts the President gives his attention to a variety of subjects in detail, of which only those which are germane to our object can be here touched upon. A noticeable feature of the message is the large place given in it to foreign affairs, more than half the document being devoted to these. Our nation is no longer isolated. Such a change in means of intercommunication and interassociation has come about that we are in the closest touch with practically all parts of the world. It is cause for profound gratitude that our foreign policy under these new conditions, as it is outlined in this message, is to remain, as in the past, one of peaceful, friendly neutrality.

As was expected, the Cuban question occupies the foremost place in the message, more than one third of the document being given to this subject. The President reviews the history of the present and the preceding insurrections, examines the intimate relations of Cuba to the United States, states clearly our obligations as a neutral power to Spain, expresses his conviction that the new policy inaugurated by Sagasta is resulting in an improved condition of affairs in Cuba, and finally declares his belief that the time has come neither for the recognition of the belligerency of the Cubans nor for intervention upon humanitarian grounds. As to forcible annexation, "that can not be thought of. That by our code of morality would be criminal aggression." In closing his discussion of the question, he says:

"The near future will demonstrate whether the indispensable condition of a righteous peace just alike to the Cubans and to Spain as well as equi-

table to all our interests so intimately involved in the welfare of Cuba is likely to be attained. If not, the exigency of further and other action will be determined in the line of indisputable right and duty. It will be faced without misgiving or hesitancy in the light of the obligation this government owes to itself, to the people who have confided to it the protection of their interest and honor, and to humanity.

"Sure of the right, keeping free from all offense ourselves, actuated only by upright and patriotic considerations, moved neither by passion nor selfishness, the government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens, and will abate none of its efforts to bring about by peaceful agencies a peace which shall be honorable and enduring.

"If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity, to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part and only because the necessity for such action will be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world."

The President's wise, discriminating, high-minded and truly American position on this vexed subject has met with nearly unanimous approval on the part of the nation—except Mr. Hannis Taylor, whose advice is not followed, and some "intense Americans" who are thirsting for somebody's blood.

Referring to the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii submitted by him to the Senate on the 16th of June last, the President reiterates his desire to see the treaty ratified and the Hawaiian Republic made an integral part of the United States. He disavows all idea of "any aggressive policy of absorption in regard to the Hawaiian group," but believes that the logic of a long series of events is immediate annexation. "Every consideration of dignity and honor requires" that the treaty be confirmed by our Senate. While believing ourselves that the reasons against annexation outweigh those in its favor, we have not the least doubt that the President is as thoroughly sincere in his judgment on this matter as in the matter of Cuba. The judgment of the nation is clearly divided on the subject, many of the best citizens being on opposite sides, and it is not at all sure yet that the President's opinion will prevail.

On the subject of the Nicaragua Canal, the building of which by the United States the President evidently favors, he will make further suggestions to Congress when the Commission which is now

engaged in making surveys, estimating the cost of construction, etc., shall have made its report.

In the matter of international bimetalism, the President earnestly hopes that the labors of the Commission, whose efforts have been thought by many to have signally failed, "may result in an international agreement which will bring about recognition of both gold and silver as money upon such terms and with such safeguards as will secure the use of both metals upon a basis which shall work no injustice to any class of our citizens."

As to our trade relations with other nations the message states that Hon. John A. Kasson has been appointed a special commissioner to negotiate with foreign countries desiring to avail themselves of the reciprocity provisions of the new tariff law. The negotiations are now proceeding with several governments. The President advises the enlargement and improvement of our merchant marine. "The government by every proper constitutional means should aid in making our ships familiar visitors at every commercial port of the world."

The message alludes briefly to the negotiations now going on in reference to the seal question, the result of which it is hoped may soon be reported to Congress.

No passage in the message says as much in as few words as that relating to arbitration. President McKinley has put admirably into four sentences what he told the Mohonk Arbitration Conference Committee he would say. It is not unlikely that in the near future there will be such developments in the matter of an Anglo-American treaty that the President will send to the Senate a special message on the subject. For this further and fuller treatment, the declaration in the recent message, which we quote in full, is an excellent prelude:

*"International arbitration can not be omitted from the list of subjects claiming our consideration. Events have only served to strengthen the general views on this question expressed in my inaugural address. The best sentiment of the civilized world is moving toward the settlement of differences between nations without resorting to the horrors of war. Treaties embodying these humane principles on broad lines, without in any way imperiling our interest or our honor, shall have my constant encouragement."*

## The Annexation of Hawaii.

Before Congress met last month it was considered certain that the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii would go through the Senate with flying colors, possibly within a week after that body re-assembled. But when the Senate came together it was soon discovered that the treaty could not certainly muster in its favor a two-thirds majority of the Senators. Later a canvass showed that thirty-nine Senators were opposed to annexation. When Mr. Hoar presented to the Senate the petition of the native Hawaiians, signed by 21,000 or two-thirds of the whole number of pure natives, protesting against annexation, the effect both on the Senate and the country was such as to make it practically certain that the treaty will never come to a vote.

The only way left, therefore, by which the advocates of annexation can hope to accomplish their purpose is through a joint resolution, as in the case of Texas. It is considered doubtful if even in this way the project can be gotten through the Senate. There is known to be much opposition to annexation in the House. In any event, the scheme can not now be railroaded through. Debate on it is, we think, sure to increase opposition, rather than diminish it, in both Houses, and debate is certain to arise when the subject comes up. Opinion throughout the country seems not very materially to have changed, tho doubt of the desirability of annexation is certainly stronger to-day than it has before been since President Harrison presented the first annexation treaty. The sentimental clamor for annexation is evidently waning. As this is probably the last opportunity we shall have of discussing the subject before it is finally disposed of, we deem it proper to rehearse the reasons given pro and con and to restate our position.

The arguments in favor of annexation, so far as we have seen them, are these:

Hawaii has asked to be annexed to this country; we ought not to refuse to incorporate with us a people which desires to become one with us.

It is the duty of the United States to extend its free institutions to other quarters of the globe wherever possible.

The colony of Americans in Hawaii, now the rulers of the country, deserve our support in their efforts to preserve and promote American civilization, which they and their ancestors have planted